



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE AWAKENING OF AUSTRIA

BY MRS. BELLAMY STORER

No country of Europe is so misunderstood in the United States as the Empire of Austria-Hungary. Our American newspapers are incessantly filled with misstatements, both with regard to the future stability of Austria-Hungary, as a united government, and to the personal character of the next Emperor, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand. Most of these assertions could not be more misleading if they were made with malice aforethought.

My object in writing this article is to correct these errors and to explain, as well as I can, the reasons why the future prosperity of the Austrian Empire is a matter of importance to the whole civilized world.

In the United States there always has been a decided preference for Hungary, as distinguished from Austria. It comes, perhaps, from highly colored and romantic ideas connected in our minds with the latter country, with its rhapsodic "*Zigeuner Musik*" and bewildering national dances—its galloping steeds "shod with fire," and above all, its impetuous and perpetual struggle for "liberty."

The most conspicuous malcontents in the kingdom of Hungary have hitherto been the Magyars, who claim to be the only important inhabitants of Hungary. The plain truth, however, is that this hot-blooded race needs the curb and restraint of authority and law and order. It inclines toward carelessness in religion, and the inevitable consequence has been a loose morality, which has manifested itself in ruinous gambling and lax marriage ties, as the result of the measure of independence in legislation and personal conduct which Hungary possesses as a distinct kingdom. It is a seething populace, because of its ardent semi-Oriental temperament, but the continual tempests do no harm to the Hungarian teapot, so long as the Austrian

lid can be kept on. Even the clever politicians who pose as "Hungarian patriots" (some of whom have come over here of recent years, to try to glean a sort of aftermath from the American harvest of old Kossuth of blessed memory), know full well that Hungary could not exist as a *separate* kingdom, but would speedily be cut to pieces and wiped out of existence: for Hungary as a nation is even more composite than Austria, and has more antagonist races living within her territory. The Magyars themselves are in the minority, speaking numerically, but they make the most noise, and belong to the governing class. I find it a common impression among Americans that *Magyar* means a magnate, or else a nobleman of high degree—in Hungary—whereas it means only the descendants of the Finno-Ugrian race—as distinguished from the Croatian, Slavonian, Roumanian, and Ruthenian (or little Russian); all of which different races make up the population of the kingdom of Hungary.

Within the last few weeks, we have seen the Slav population of Hungary elated by the Balkan turmoil, trying to push forward with a demand for "*Triality*." There would be no end to the splitting up of races, if Austrian domination could once be overcome—and of course, it would all end in complete disruption.

We Americans know by our own experience as a nation composed of many different races, which went through fire and blood to preserve its identity, that a divided North and South would have meant further dismemberment and unending contention. For similar reasons, neither Magyar, nor Slav, nor Croatian, nor Roumanian, nor Ruthenian will ever find peace on earth except under the centralization of the Austrian rule.

In Hungary, the language which prevails is the Magyar—or what we call the "Hungarian" language. Austria permits this because the Magyars are passionately attached to it—as they are to their native poetry and dances and music. But no more outrageous and absurd pretension was ever made than the demand of the Hungarians, several years ago, that the Austrian army in Hungary should be drilled in Magyar.

No government in the world could tolerate a division of its army into two semi-hostile bodies. The excitable Hungarians, however, were so stirred by Austria's refusal to

grant this request that, eight years ago, when we went down to Budapest from Vienna for the annual Court Ball, while the population did not dare to insult the Emperor personally, from the balcony of our hotel I could hear the crowd beneath roar and hiss under its breath (and a queer growl it was) when the Imperial band marched through the streets playing the national hymn, "*Gott Erhalte Franz den Kaiser*," because the words of the hymn are German, and they wished to display their hatred of the German language.

When old Kossuth stirred our nation's heart in the early days, it was at a time when our ardent young country warmed toward every attempted declaration of independence, and when we saw in the very name of "Republic," the only guarantee of the rights and privileges of man.

Alas! we have learned much since that period of our history, both from others, and from our own experience, and Madame Roland's often-repeated exclamation, "*Liberté, que de crimes sont commis en ton nom!*" has become a mere truism. Nearer home, I remember also an assertion made by one of our greatest statesmen, Thomas B. Reed: "There is no tyranny to be compared to the tyranny of patriots (self-styled) in a Republic!" We have had in our own country some notorious examples of this fact, since Mr. Reed spoke these words to me, just before the declaration of war with Spain.

Always we come back to one fundamental truth: that every government of mankind must be founded—whether it be Empire, Kingdom, or Republic—upon religion and morality.

Religious people are awakening everywhere to the tyranny of aggressive anti-religious Socialism, a republican and democratic evil which is sapping the foundations of family life and of all the other social institutions which must be based upon faith in God, and without which no government on the face of the earth can maintain either law, order, or authority.

General Washington's words in his farewell address to the people of the United States are true for all time, as well as for the epoch in which they were spoken:

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars

of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. . . . Reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

Bearing these words in mind, we have only to glance at the so-called "Liberal" movements in Europe, to see that the subversion of monarchy there means to-day an open declaration of war against religion and morality.

The Republics of France and Portugal are the most conspicuous instances of this obvious fact, because France has begun to reap the harvest of her atheistic system of education, and Portugal is gleaning eagerly from her fields. Spain and Italy, too, are busy sowing the seeds of a French "progressivism," which began before the Revolution. Perhaps it would be well for us, in the United States, to know something about its origin. The word was coined in France; we have only translated it.

Shortly before his death, Mirabeau carefully prepared a speech upon the rights of succession, which was to be the proclamation of a new doctrine called "*Progressivisme*." He had neither the time nor the strength to deliver it himself, so he selected Talleyrand to be its mouthpiece in the *Assemblée Nationale*. Mirabeau's speech was read by Talleyrand on April 4, 1791, and "*Progressivisme*" came into being.

This new movement struck at the root of all dependence on God. It was an effort to substitute the State for the parents: to upset God's institution, the family, and to rob fathers of the right to educate their own children. The *Assemblée Nationale* took up the idea with enthusiasm, and the radical government in France to-day has based its tyranny over the rights of parents, and its method of child education upon Mirabeau's "*Progressivisme*." For further details on this interesting subject, one has only to refer to Paul Bourget's essay "*Idée de famille*"—which forms the preface to his recent play "*The Tribune*." Bourget says that it seems appropriate that the father and the sponsor of "*Progressivisme*" should be Mirabeau—a bad son and a bad father and Talleyrand a renegade priest. In the United States our system of education without religion in the public schools is giving occasion for much anxiety.

The Hon. Bird S. Coler is president of a society organized for the "Protection of Church School." He has recent-

ly written a very interesting book, *Two and Two Make Four*. With regard to what he considers to be the direct outcome of State education without religion both in France and in the United States, Mr. Coler says: "The result is an increase in illiteracy in France, and a deterioration in the quality of education here, considering the matter from a secular standpoint; and a riot of murder and lawlessness in Paris and New York, considering the moral aspect."

Many other thoughtful religious men in America to-day are uttering timely words of rebuke and of warning, which should arouse the attention of our careless people. The Hon. Thomas R. Marshall, Vice-President of the United States, in an address delivered before the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, at Chicago on December 6th last, asserted that, "The evasion of the duty of parents to instruct their children in their religion has resulted in irreligion and in wayward children."

That the children of Christian parents should have a religious education—that their souls as well as their minds shall be trained—has become a matter of most vital importance to the whole of Christendom, both in America and in Europe.

I am not really straying from my subject, although I may seem to be. Last September when the Eucharistic Congress was held in Vienna, there was a great religious awakening throughout the entire dominion of Austria-Hungary. On the Sunday which closed the Congress, a magnificent procession marched through the streets of Vienna, one hundred and fifty thousand strong—amid a throng of hundreds of thousands of spectators—and all this happened under a pouring rain, which had lasted through the entire week. It was a striking manifestation by the entire nation of their faith in God and their devotion to their Church. It made me feel more sure than ever before, that the peace and prosperity—even the existence—of Christian civilization depends in Europe, and will depend, upon the friendly political alliance of those two great Christian Empires: Catholic Austria and Protestant Germany. Their united power alone can curb or overcome the great evil of Socialist "progressivism." People talk a good deal of the impossibility of keeping together the Austrian Empire after the death of the present Emperor, because of its warring races—but I believe that the Catholic faith, which they all hold in common,

must link them more closely as time goes on, and as the outside dangers of Socialist atheism come nearer and nearer.

The same situation with regard to religion will find its parallel also in Germany, where human discords among differing Christians must fall silent in the presence of their common enemy, godless Socialism, which must be striven against by Catholic and Protestant alike.

There has been lately a good deal of complaint about Protestant injustice to Catholics in Germany; notably with regard to the bill laid before the Prussian Diet in 1908, permitting the compulsory expropriation of Polish landowners (even though Prussian subjects) in favor of German purchasers. There is no doubt with regard to the unnecessary severity of such measures for Germanizing the Poles, or to some other acts of intolerance toward Catholics on the part of the Imperial Government, but the religious situation has certainly improved in Germany since the "*Kultur-Kampf*"—and bitter animosity on both sides could do no greater harm to Christianity than to inflame German Catholics into hatred of the government under which they live—and to bring about an alliance in Germany between Catholics and Socialists.

The Socialist powers are ready enough to cater to discontent, and make promises of toleration—but no one who has watched the growth of irreligion in France can doubt for a moment that political discord between French Catholics has been the one great strength of the atheist government: for a united Catholic majority could have overcome radical tyranny without much effort years ago: but the united infidel "*Bloc*" was able to overthrow a house divided against itself, and trample underfoot the dwellers within it.

By an exactly similar method of disruption, the atheist radicals of Germany (following the successful example of France) are striving to set Protestants and Catholics by the ears, knowing well that nothing can help a godless Socialism more surely than an enemy divided into two religious camps, actively hostile to one another. That German Catholics should uphold the Imperial government is the only guarantee of their own religious rights and privileges.

A few prominent French Catholics, unfortunately, in spite of the religious persecutions of their own government, are still keeping alive a rancor against Germany, and have

been striving to stir up bitter feelings both at home and abroad, because of the injustice shown to Polish Catholics by Prussia, complaining especially that the "little children are forbidden to pray in Polish." But a well-known French statesman has very properly suggested that Catholics in France should first attend to cleaning their own nest, remarking:

"We are in a more wretched state than the Polés. In Poland it is the foreigner who is the oppressor. In France it is Frenchmen. The rulers of France are determined that no one, young or old, man or woman, priest or layman, shall *pray in any language*, and in case of resistance the Government simply seizes the churches and schools and sends their owners adrift on the wide world. Moreover, the Prussians at least make a show of compensation. Not so in France."

To foment Catholic discontent in Germany, in the hope of a *revanche* and to promote an alliance between the German infidel Socialists and Catholics is a policy not only un-Christian but very short-sighted as a matter of mere worldly prudence.

The Emperor of Germany is, first of all, a *Christian*. That fact to the German Socialist constitutes the head and front of his offending; and not at all the mere circumstance that he is a *Kaiser*. Were he a "progressive" Emperor, bent upon spoils and persecuting religion, like the tyrants who have misruled France during the last thirty years, the German atheist would be shouting to the skies, "*Hoch soll er leben!*" Small wonder that the Socialist party in Germany and everywhere outside is not enthusiastic over an Emperor who speaks such words as were uttered by the Kaiser in an address delivered on February 9th at the Berlin University. The Emperor warned his people that "the Germans of to-day are too much inclined to believe only in tangible things, and to place stumbling-blocks in the way of religion." He advises the youth of Germany "to forge in its fire the tried sword and shield of faith"; and he declared that "With such weapons, looking neither to the right nor to the left, we will go our direct way, eyes uplifted and hearts uplifted, with trust in God."

Upon the important subject of the loyalty of German Catholics to the Empire it is enlightening to read of the speeches made when the newly appointed Archbishop of Cologne swore the oath of allegiance to the Emperor William on February 13th.

"The new Archbishop of Cologne, Dr. von Hartmann, who was elevated to the See in succession to Cardinal Fischer last autumn, swore the oath of allegiance to the Emperor William to-day in the Knight's Hall of the Royal Castle. He was introduced to his Majesty, who was accompanied by the Imperial Chancellor, and by the Prussian Minister of Education, and swore his oath of loyalty as 'called with the gracious consent of His Majesty to the See of Cologne by the election of the Chapter confirmed by the Holy Father.' He said that, inspired personally since his early years with a sense of loyalty to the dynasty, he would do his utmost to shield and cultivate this sense in the hearts of his flock. 'The bolder and more desperate were the attacks of the powers of revolution and negation which beat round the bases of the Throne and the altar,' the more instant was this task of his. Referring to a stained glass window presented last year by the Emperor William to Cologne Cathedral, which represents Pope Leo. III. appealing for protection to Charlemagne, the Archbishop expressed the hope that the Emperor William would extend to his subjects of the Catholic Church the same gracious favor which Charlemagne had given. In reply, His Majesty assured the Archbishop of his Royal favor and benevolence. Alluding also to the subject of the window in Cologne Cathedral, the Emperor William said:

"'This historical event is an instructive example of the blessing which there is in relations of confidence between the Church and the supreme upholder of the power of the State, and at the same time it conveys a serious warning. Your conduct of office hitherto makes me confident that, mindful of this warning, you in your new dignity will instruct your clergy and your parishes to link with attachment to your Church true devotion to me and to my House, warm love for the German Fatherland, and obedience to the authorities ordained of God.'"—*The "Times," February 14, 1913.*

There can be no doubt that the safeguarding of religion and morality will depend in Europe upon the strength and authority of these two allied Christian Empires, more than upon any other foreign powers, and the next Emperor of Austria becomes therefore a personality of world-wide interest.

With regard to the life and character of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand most erroneous ideas seem, as I have said, to prevail in the United States. Some of these false statements were encouraged some years ago by enemies at home, who sought to promote disaffection.

The Archduke Franz Ferdinand is a manly man and a Christian gentleman. Until within the last few years he has had very little to do with public affairs. This circumstance gave the enemies of Austria a chance to prophesy discord for the future; but since that time it has been remarked with great pleasure by those Austrians who have always been friends of the Archduke, that many political

personages who have not known or appreciated him are beginning to understand him, and to admire him more and more, because they come nearer to him since he has occupied himself with affairs hitherto reserved for the Emperor alone.

The Archduke Franz Ferdinand loves the open air and the quiet of a country life, and is an enthusiastic hunter. His wife, the Duchess of Hohenberg, belongs to one of the oldest families (what is called the "Uradel" or ancient nobility) of Bohemia. Her father, Count Chotek, was for many years in the Austrian diplomatic service, and she has had a liberal education and experience in foreign countries. She speaks both English and French perfectly and is in all ways a remarkably clever, as well as a beautiful woman. The "interior" at the Belvedere Palace is ideal; the Archduke is seen there as a happy husband and father; the children are sweet and carefully trained. It is a wholesome atmosphere—a noble example to every Christian family in the Empire. I remember well taking breakfast there once when the only other guests were the Prince and Princess Alfred Liechtenstein, and at the table only a few members of the Archducal household. Some very excellent ducks were passed as one course, and when the servant had gone around the table, the Archduke, on whose left I was seated, leaned back in his chair and said to the man, "I should like some of that duck cold for supper." Somehow, this small incident stands out in my memory as so simple, and what the Germans call "*gemüthlich*," that I think of it whenever (as often happens), I am informed by people, who imagine they know all about it, that "the Austrians are stiff, formal, and arrogant" and that, "The Empire is going to fall to pieces as soon as the old Emperor dies."

I firmly believe that these prophets of evil may behold with their own eyes a great and growing Empire of Austria whose duration and strength shall be based upon the foundation pillars of religion and morality, those "indispensable supports" which General Washington declared to be "the firmest props of the duties of men and citizens." Who that sees and comprehends the dangers which threaten the whole of Christian civilization will not join in exclaiming, "*Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser!*" in the future as well as in the present.

MRS. BELLAMY STORER.